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ART. XIII.—*An Inquiry concerning the power of Increase in the Numbers of Mankind ; being an answer to Mr Malthus's Essay on that subject. By William Godwin. London, 1820.*

IT is now about twenty-four years since Mr Malthus first undertook to discuss the subject of population. He was led to an examination of the subject, with a view of refuting some of the leading dogmas of a class of writers who at that time attracted much of the public attention, and by whom all the miseries and sufferings of the lower classes were attributed to the institutions of society, and particularly to the laws of property. Among these writers was Mr Godwin, whose treatise on Political Justice, we all have read or heard of. Mr Malthus' work, though at first written with this temporary purpose, attracted so much notice, that the author was induced to continue his attention to the subject ; and now in its fifth edition, it has grown to the size of three octavo volumes, and is probably destined to be forever after considered the standard work on the difficult subject which it treats. Mr Godwin, it would seem, has not relished this success of his antagonist—for after the lapse of so long a time, he has come forward with a volume of more than six hundred pages, in the way of rejoinder. And a most lame and impotent rejoinder it is ; alike

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unphilosophical in its views, and disingenuous in its spirit. The author scolds when he ought to reason ; calls names when he should give us facts ; and condescends at all times to the most unworthy misrepresentations, not only of particular positions and arguments, but of the whole scope and object of his opponent's work.

It is well known that the fundamental principles of Mr Malthus' work, or rather the fact upon which all his reasonings are built, is, that 'population, when *unchecked*, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years ; or increases in a geometrical ratio'—but that food can only increase in an arithmetical ratio. It was not left to Mr Malthus to discover that there is a tendency in the human race to increase its numbers ; and if it is admitted that population increases at all, for any considerable period, it seems to us necessary that the increase should be in the nature of a geometrical increase. If the population of a country can double itself, no matter whether it be in a period of twenty-five or of a hundred years, the population, when doubled, will still have the same power of increasing which the original stock had. But not so with food ; if, in the course of twenty-five years, we could double the amount of food produced in any country, it would by no means follow, that in a period of fifty years the amount would be quadrupled. It was not, however, until the publication of the American censuses, that the world was enabled to judge, with any degree of accuracy, in how short a period this doubling could be accomplished. 'If America had never been discovered,' says Mr Godwin, 'the geometrical ratio, as applied to the multiplication of mankind, would never have been known. If the British colonies had never been planted, Mr Malthus would never have written.' If this were true, it would detract not a whit from the correctness of what Mr M. has written. Most of the writers who have attempted to answer Mr Malthus, at least those whose works have lived long enough to cross the Atlantic, have been content to acquiesce in the truth of the geometrical increase, and have confined their endeavors to an attack upon his inferences and deductions. Not so with Mr Godwin—he proceeds at once to the root of the argument, and denies both that the population of the United States has increased in the ratio which Mr Malthus supposes, and our censuses represent ; and says, that if this were the case, it would be insufficient to prove that such is the natural

rate of increase of mankind ; and to these ends has he written this book.

Mr Godwin begins with what he calls general views of the increase of mankind. In imagination, he carries his reader 'up into an exceeding high mountain,' 'to show him all the kingdoms of the world.' 'The first thing, that occurs to him who thus surveys "all the kingdoms of the world," and the state of their population, is the thinness of their numbers, and the multitude and extent of their waste and desolate places.' 'He sees his species as a little remnant widely scattered over a fruitful and prolific surface, and weeps to think that the kindly and gracious qualities of our mother earth are turned to so little account.' Mr G. affirms, that not only could the globe maintain twenty times its present number of inhabitants, but that this increased number might exist in a state of greater plenty and happiness, than is enjoyed by our present small number. Whether he is right or not, in his calculations, there is no doubt that the earth might support a very much larger number of human beings than at present inhabit it. What then becomes of the geometrical increase, and a doubling every twenty-five years ? Where has it been operating ? The world has existed for more than six thousand years ; and by this theory there ought to be men enough to fill the universe : and yet the fact is, that this little planet does not contain, by an immense number, all the inhabitants which it alone is capable of supporting. And not only the earth is not full, as it ought to be ; but when we take a more minute survey of its parts, we find many of them, which once sustained nations and crowded cities, are now amongst its 'waste and desolate places.' Montesquieu, with the Persian letters, is called in to aid us in the enquiry, and convince us that the populousness of ancient nations was greater than that of modern. And then we are referred to the opinions of a large portion of political writers and practical statesmen, of all ages and countries, who have ever thought that the decline of population was the greatest evil that could befall a nation ; and hence have been led into the belief that those were the best philanthropists who could devise the strongest encouragements for the increase of our race. 'Upon what evidence,' he then asks, 'is it [the doctrine of a geometrical increase] to be received ? Upon one solitary experiment (and I must be allowed to add, a most equivocal one) of one bare hundred and fifty

years, in one infant colony, as I may call it, in an obscure nook of the new world; and this replied to and refuted, with one voice, and with an evidence the most consenting and astounding, by all ages and countries, by all sects of religion and forms of government, that were ever heard of or devised.'

But in order to ascertain whether the above remarks contradict Mr Malthus' position, it is well for us to recollect precisely, what is the position he assumes. His words are, that 'population, when *unchecked*, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years.' He does not affirm that such has actually been the rate of increase at all times, and throughout the world; and this Mr G. must have known, for a great part of Mr Malthus' book is taken up by the inquiry into the nature of those checks, which in different parts of the world have kept down population so much below its natural level. It is not pretended by any one that there is any material difference in the natural fecundity of the human race in different countries; at least Mr G. is very strenuous in insisting that there is none. It would seem therefore neither unfair nor unphilosophical to take the ascertained rate of increase in any one country, as proof that the human race is capable of that rate of increase. The inquiry is, in what period will population, when unchecked, double itself. We look at the United States, where the usual checks have operated with less force than in any other part of the world, and we find the period there is twenty-five years. Now it would be of no consequence, if it could be proved that in every other nation on earth the rate of increase is so slow, that it would require a hundred, or even a thousand years, to double the population. The fact is proved, that the human race can increase so fast as to double in a period of twenty-five years. It becomes, it is true, a very important question, why population does not increase as fast in other countries as in this. What are those checks which have in them operated with such terrible effect against the powerful tendency of human nature? Into this inquiry Mr M. has entered, and has executed his task in no hasty or superficial manner. Perhaps the larger, and by no means the least important, part of the essay on population, is devoted to this subject; and it would have been well for Mr G. (if he were able) to have pointed out any incorrectness in this part of his opponent's statements and arguments. But whilst he has not done this, his angry railings against Mr M. for assuming his

fact from the American censuses alone, are as absurd as they are undignified.

But Mr Godwin not merely denies that Mr Malthus was authorized in assuming the rate of increase in the United States, as that which is the natural rate of mankind. A point of much more importance with him is, to show that no such increase as our censuses indicate, has ever been the result of procreation alone. And here it is proper to remark that the correctness of our censuses is not called in question by either party. The dispute is merely about the cause of the increase of our numbers. Mr Malthus says it is a natural increase. Mr Godwin seriously asserts, and spends no small part of his work in attempting to prove that it is owing merely to emigrations from Europe, and particularly from Great Britain. The bare statement of such a proposition will excite surprise in this country ; and our readers will feel some curiosity to learn by what sort of evidence a fact is proved, which to us, 'on this outside of the world,' (as our ancestors used to call it) is so novel.

The first proof is truly an exquisite one, though not more so than the point it is intended to establish. Mr Godwin has been told that between the years 1630 and 1640, twenty-one thousand two hundred British subjects were computed to have passed over to New England only. By looking into Anderson's history of commerce, he finds an enumeration of the ships cleared outward in 1663 ; and their tonnage was 142,900. In 1818, the tonnage of ships cleared outward was 3,072,409. He then states a question in the rule of three : if 142,900 tons yielded an emigration of 2,000 persons, what emigration will be yielded by 3,072,409 tons ? And he thus finds that 43,000 persons emigrated in 1818. (p. 407.) To this argument we shall not attempt a reply. We never reason against the arithmetic ; and so we pass to the next piece of evidence. It is an official account of the number which had emigrated from Ireland to North America, in the three years ending January 5th, 1819. The whole number is 35,633. But this includes the emigrations to the British dominions in America. It is known, that extraordinary inducements had, shortly before this period, been held out to the poorer classes of the United Kingdom to emigrate to the Canadas, by offering them at first, a free passage, a grant of land, implements of husbandry, and support for the first six months. These inducements were afterwards restricted to a grant of land ; which

shows that numbers have been induced to avail themselves of the first offer. By an extract which Mr G. gives us of a paper published by the emigrant society of Quebec, dated 11th of October 1819, it appears that 'the number of emigrants arriving at that port, since the opening of the navigation for the present season, amounts to upwards of twelve thousand, which probably exceeds two thirds of the population of the city itself.' If the average of the preceding years was any thing near this, it will seem that but a small part of the 35,633 emigrants above mentioned came to the United States. Mr Godwin's next document is Niles' Weekly Register, from which he extracts the accounts of several extraordinary arrivals of emigrants at different ports of the United States. The first, dated August 16, 1817, states, that in the two preceding weeks there had arrived 2,512. The second, dated August 30, 1817, states, that in the two preceding weeks, 947 had arrived. October 25th of the same year, '204 passengers arrived at Boston, in the *Mary Ann*.' 'For the week ending 31st August, 1818, 2,150 passengers, nearly the whole of whom were emigrants from Europe, arrived at the single port of New York.' And it is estimated that 6,000 arrived in the United States, in the two weeks preceding the sixth of September 1818. Thus much for Mr Niles, who probably little suspected that his industrious compilations were ever to furnish the ground-work of such extravagancies; and by way of climax, Mr Godwin informs us, that he finds in a letter written by Mr Cobbet, dated Long Island, August 14, 1819, the following assertion: 'Within the last twelve months upwards of a hundred and fifty thousand have landed from England to settle here.' (p. 414.) In Mr Cobbet this is remarkably well, for probably the assertion is not more than fifteen times larger than the truth. He probably reasoned (if he reasoned at all on the subject) in the same manner that Mr G. would have his readers. In one or two weeks there arrived two or three thousand: there are fifty-two weeks in a year, and so *probatum est*, there arrived a hundred and fifty thousand in the course of the year. We marvel that Mr G. did not adopt the argument before deduced by him from an estimate of the tonnage; and say if one ship brought 402 passengers, how many were brought by all the ships which arrived during the year? In this way he might have made up his desired number of emigrants; but in the mode he has adopted, though

not less erroneous than the one we suggest, he does not do it.

By our late census, it appears that our population has increased, during the last ten years, 2,385,831. Three of these ten years were passed in a state of war, which may safely be affirmed to have put an entire stop to immigration. During the remaining seven years, there ought then to have arrived, on an average, upwards of 340,000 emigrants a year :—considerably more than double the number which did arrive even upon the supposition, that the above statements of Mr Niles present us with the weekly average. But we all know that the average is nothing like the above numbers ; that these were extraordinary arrivals, and for that reason were noticed by the newspapers. They were extraordinary cases in extraordinary years. In 1817 and 1818, the new situation of Europe threw thousands out of employment ; and the consequence was, as we must all recollect, the arrival of several large bodies of emigrants in this country. But who besides Messrs Cobbet and Godwin ever thought of taking the wholesale newspaper accounts of cases like these, as ground work for calculating the number which arrive in the course of a year, and for every year ? And yet it is upon the documents which we have given above, that Mr G. ventures the assertion,—‘ The present population of the North American continent, with one exception, which will presently be mentioned, must have arisen from a direct transportation of the inhabitants of the Old World to the New ;’ (p. 403,) and that but for this assistance, our population would be at a stand.

The single exception above alluded to we shall have occasion to notice hereafter, and we think there will be little difficulty in showing that it amounts to nothing. The above proposition is so utterly extravagant, that we would not waste the patience of our readers in a discussion of it, but that it has come from a writer of so much note as Mr. Godwin, and has attracted some attention in England. According to this hypothesis, in the course of every twenty-five years, a number of foreigners come here, and enrol themselves among our citizens, equal to the whole number of citizens at the commencement of the period. And what is truly astonishing is, that in all the stages of our increase, this number of foreigners has always been increasing in exact proportion to the number of citizens to which they were to be added. When, in 1749, we

had little more than a million of inhabitants, there came enough to double that number : when, in 1790, we had 3,921,326, there came enough to match that number. In 1800 our numbers were up to 5,319,762 ; and now we are possessed of the census of 1820, from which it appears that the number of 1800 will be doubled in less than twenty-five years. So that it is plain, if population does not increase in a geometrical ratio, emigration does. And all this while, Great Britain, which furnishes nine tenths of all our emigrants, is increasing her numbers at home. No matter what is the situation of Europe, whether at peace or war, enjoying abundance or suffering scarcity ; the amount of emigration goes on increasing constantly and uniformly, in exact proportion as the land in America becomes more settled, and the temptations to emigration are diminished. The inquiry will naturally suggest itself to Mr Godwin's readers in this country—where are all these foreigners ? Since 1790, near six millions of them must have arrived, and of course a majority of the adult population are of foreign birth. Considering that in this country, a majority is omnipotent, it is a little singular that we do not see and hear a little more of this class of men ; that we do not sometimes witness their efforts to control the elections or to influence the government. Why should they not alter that clause of the constitution which excludes them from the highest office of the nation ; and why, although not constitutionally disqualified, are they (with here and there a solitary exception) in fact excluded from all other offices ? Mr. Godwin's ideas of the character of our population correspond with his notion of its origin. We will give the account in his own words.

‘There is an extreme fallacy in Mr Malthus' language, when he talks, in his letter to me of October 1818, speaking of the population of the United States, of “foreign immigration.” In the United States there is no idea, correspondent to the term, “a foreigner.” This republic is properly *colluvies omnium gentium*. No native of any part of Europe will fail in one respect to find himself at home, the moment he has set his foot on the shores of North America ; particularly the inhabitants of the British isles, who, according to Mr. Niles' collections, land there at the rate of two or three thousand per week. The term “foreign” in this case, conveys to the mind a fallacious idea ; since we are accustomed to see what Mr. Malthus calls “foreign immigrants” constituting a very trivial portion of the population of an old country. The American congress in reality has done wisely in refusing to sepa-

rate their new citizens by districts and boundaries, in cases where particular countries have sent out to them a great number of settlers, and choosing rather to blend them in one common mass ; since if they were allowed by such separation fully to keep alive their original prejudices, we might expect to see them one day overpowering the *Creoles*, or proper descendants of the old settlers, just as in some countries we read of slaves that have become so numerous as to be able to put down and subjugate their masters.' pp. 416, 417.

This account, we have no doubt, would have been realized, were we but half as much inundated with foreigners (and we do assure Mr Godwin we have an idea correspondent to this term) as is supposed. But in that case no policy of the government could have preserved our institutions, or prevented the poor '*Creoles*' (we love to repeat such a happy epithet,) from being overpowered. A nation of near ten millions of people, more than one half of whose adult population were born on foreign soil, educated under different forms of government, brought together in a remote part of the world by accident ; yet that nation preserving a constitution of government like our own, without disturbance or interference, or even assistance from its imported majority, would present a phenomenon, which to us seems more difficult of solution, than the increase of our population does to Mr Godwin.

But what would set this matter at rest in the minds of those acquainted with this country, (if in the minds of such it were possible in the first place to raise a doubt,) is the fact, that the part of the United States which has always been considered to have presented the greatest natural rate of increase, is New England ; and it is this very part, which has been blessed with the smallest number of emigrants. Our 'weather bleached and battered rocks,' seldom attract the visionary adventurer from abroad ; and should they do so, it would require but a small part of one of our winters, to freeze up the tide of enthusiasm which bore him from his home. And besides, thin as our soil is represented to be, it is known that most of it is occupied, and by men who will not give it away without a consideration. Nearly the whole of the population of New England are descendants of the puritans ; yet, until her territory was in a great measure occupied, the increase of population here was unequalled by any of those states, whose greater natural advantages would be likely to draw towards them a larger

number of emigrants. And in later years, we see, that whilst she has been peopling the states northwest of the Ohio, her own population has been constantly increasing. This fact is particularly worthy of observation in our last census. Since the census immediately preceding the last, we have had commercial restrictions and war, which pressed with peculiar force on the northern states, whose prosperity is at all times, in a considerable degree, dependent on the free use of the ocean. During the years 1813 and 1814, we may recollect that the tide of emigration seemed rushing so strongly to the west, that serious apprehensions were felt, that our population was on the decline: And yet we now find that in every one of these states there has been an increase; and in one of them, so great an increase as 30 per cent. It is in vain then to talk of the increase of our numbers being dependent on the transportation of men from the other side of the Atlantic. For every foreigner who has come into New England, within the last ten years, with a view of remaining here, it may be safely affirmed that thirty native citizens have left it for the banks of the Ohio or the Illinois.

Mr Godwin wrote his book, without knowing the result of our recent census. Before that time, there had been three successive enumerations taken, at intervals of ten years each. They had each exhibited a rate of increase, which would double the population in a period of little more than twenty-two years. Mr Malthus, that he might be on the safe side, had stated the period to be 25 years; and in so doing, he thought, (and so it seems to us,) that he had made ample allowance for the addition to our numbers from emigration. By the census of 1820, it appears that the total population of the United States is 9,625,734. And this we should think sufficient to furnish a final answer to Mr Godwin's loose theories and conjectures. It seems that since 1810, there has been an increase of 2,385,972; and at this rate the population of 1810 will be doubled in less than twenty-five years. The results furnished by our several censuses, are as follows:

| Total. | Increase. | Increase per cent. per annum. |
|----------------|-----------|----------------------------------|
| 1790—3,921,326 | | |
| 1800—5,319,762 | 1,398,436 | 3.097 |
| 1810—7,239,903 | 1,920,141 | 3.130 |
| 1820—9,625,734 | 2,385,972 | 2.989 |

The increase from 1790 to 1810, was 84.39 per cent. for the whole period, and 3.113 per cent. per annum ; at which rate the population would double in 22.61 years. From 1800 to 1820, the rate has been 80.94 per cent. for the whole period, and 3.01 per cent. per annum ; at which rate the population will double in 23.38 years. The rate between 1810 and 1820 has been 32.96 per cent. for the whole period, and 2.989 per cent. per annum ; at which rate the population of 1810 will be doubled in 24.33 years. The increase of the ten last years has not been quite so large as that of the preceding years ; but still, if there were no other argument in the case, the regularity of the above increase is sufficient to show that it could not have arisen from a cause so fluctuating and unsteady as foreign emigration.

We believe that it was the expectation of many, that the census of 1820 would disclose a more sensible diminution in the rate of increase than is above exhibited. This opinion was founded upon the idea that the Atlantic states had now been so long settled, that the checks which keep down population in Europe below its natural level, must have begun to operate here with considerable force. Something too, it was supposed, was to be allowed for the effects of our last war, which lasted near three years, and caused no small waste of life.

The opinion respecting the operation of the checks to population was probably drawn from an acquaintance with the cities, where undoubtedly they do operate. But the inhabitants of the cities bear but a small proportion to the whole nation ; and in the country, it would seem we have not yet a surplus population, owing to the prevalence of emigration to the west. Marriages are probably as early as they used to be ; and the rate of mortality is not increased. The real price of labor is, in this part of the country, as high as ever ; although a short time since some alteration took place in its money price. But there is another fact to be attended to in this connexion. It is not supposed by Mr Malthus, or any body else, that in every single district of the United States, the rate of increase has uniformly been such as would double the population in twenty-two, or even in twenty-five years. But this is the average of the whole country ; and consequently in some parts the period must be shorter. This has been the case with New England ; and it would appear still to be so, if we could reckon in the censuses of this part of the coun-

try the adults whom we send forth to other states. But within a few years the territory northwest of the Ohio has been settled ; and settled principally by New England men. We accordingly find there, the customs and habits of New England, with the advantages of a fine climate and soil. And we have every reason to believe that in those states, independent of emigration, the rate of increase is as rapid, if not more rapid, than it ever was in New England. Consequently, although it be true that in some parts of the country the operation of the checks to population has been increased ; yet if at the same time the proportion of the country in which they operate scarcely at all, has likewise been augmented, we need not anticipate any diminution in the average rate of increase for the whole country.

With regard to our late war—it caused, no doubt, a considerable consumption of life. For although our most important engagements appear like skirmishes, in comparison with the wholesale slaughters of Smolensko and Waterloo ; yet when we recollect that our whole Atlantic border was exposed to continual incursions from the naval force of the enemy ; whilst on the other side, we had to contend with numerous tribes of Indians ; when it is considered too, how many of our citizens were engaged in privateers ; and of these, how many were afterwards confined in crowded prisons, we shall perceive that it must have been a destructive war, although from the nature of such desultory warfare, it is impossible to estimate, with any degree of accuracy, the numbers which died in it. We know that a nation like ours, with ten millions of inhabitants, can afford many a bloody battle, without a very perceptible diminution of its numbers ; but when we see the arrival of a few thousand foreigners brought forward and considered with so much pomp and gravity, we think it right to bring into the account the loss, by three years' fighting. But as we wish to be liberal to Mr Godwin, we will allow him to offset this loss, by the extraordinary emigrations which took place between the close of the war and the taking of the census ; and in so doing, we assure him, that we allow him an excellent bargain. Having done this, we shall rest satisfied until Mr G. writes another book much better than this, that the increase of the last ten years has been 'from procreation alone.'

We think it has already been shown, that the number of

emigrants has never been near that which is required for the support of Mr Godwin's position. The subject of the emigrations to this country is not, however, one involved in such utter darkness, but that we can do something towards enabling our readers to form a tolerably correct estimate of the actual number of foreigners who arrive here ; and the first document which we offer, is nothing more nor less than an official transcript of all the lists of passengers who arrived in the United States from the 1st October 1819, to September 30th, 1820, inclusive. This transcript was prepared in the department of state, from returns made to it from all the collectors of customs at the several ports of the United States, in pursuance of the 4th and 5th sections of the act of congress of 2d March, 1819 ; and was presented to congress, February 20th, 1821. As it is the first report prepared under the act, and is interesting on account of its classification of the passengers, we shall give it entire.

Passengers arrived in the U. S. from foreign countries, from Sept, 30, 1819, to Sept. 30, 1820.

Useful productive Class.

| | | | |
|----------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| Artificer | 1 | Cloth manufacturer | 1 |
| Bakers | 58 | Coopers | 33 |
| Basket makers | 5 | Coppersmiths | 4 |
| Blacksmiths | 35 | Cotton spinner | 1 |
| Block makers | 7 | Curriers | 10 |
| Boat builders | 4 | Cutlers | 5 |
| Book binder | 1 | Distillers | 5 |
| Boot makers | 3 | Dyers | 3 |
| Brick layers | 6 | Farmers | 806 |
| Brick maker | 1 | Fishermen | 4 |
| Brazier | 1 | Flax dresser | 1 |
| Brass founders | 2 | Gardeners | 25 |
| Brewers | 6 | Goldsmith | 1 |
| Butchers | 37 | Gunsmiths | 3 |
| Button maker | 1 | Harness makers | 3 |
| Cabinet makers | 22 | Hatters | 5 |
| Carpenters | 114 | Iron founder | 1 |
| Chair makers | 4 | Laborers | 269 |
| Chandlers | 6 | Leather dresser | 1 |
| Cloth dressers | 3 | Mantua makers | 5 |
| Clothiers | 9 | Manufacturers | 7 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----|---------------------|----|
| Masons | 12 | Seamstresses | 10 |
| Mattress maker | 1 | Ship carpenters | 5 |
| Mechanics | 31 | Shoe makers | 82 |
| Milliners | 17 | Silver smiths | 2 |
| Millers | 9 | Slater | 1 |
| Millwrights | 2 | Soap boilers | 2 |
| Morocco dresser | 1 | Stay makers | 2 |
| Nail maker | 1 | Stone cutters | 8 |
| Painters | 13 | Sup. of glass works | 1 |
| Paper makers | 2 | Tailors | 55 |
| Pin and Needle makers | 2 | Tailor and farmer | 1 |
| Planters | 66 | Tanners | 3 |
| Plasterers | 7 | Tanner and currier | 1 |
| Plumbers | 3 | Tinker | 1 |
| Potters | 2 | Tobacconists | 6 |
| Printers | 4 | Turner | 1 |
| Refiner | 1 | Umbrella makers | 2 |
| Rigger | 1 | Watch makers | 6 |
| Rope makers | 5 | Weavers | 61 |
| Rule makers | 2 | Wheelwrights | 4 |
| Sadlers | 4 | White smiths | 4 |
| Sail makers | 2 | Wax makers | 2 |

Total of the useful productive class 1,987

Useful unproductive Class.

| | | | |
|---------------|----|---------------|-----|
| Accountants | 4 | Engineers | 6 |
| Ambassadors | 2 | Engravers | 2 |
| Architects | 2 | Fair traders | 2 |
| Artists | 2 | Farriers | 2 |
| Auctioneer | 1 | Governess | 1 |
| Barbers | 5 | Grocers | 6 |
| Carters | 2 | Herdsmen | 2 |
| Clergymen | 18 | Horse doctor | 1 |
| Clerks | 76 | House keepers | 8 |
| Colliers | 3 | Judge | 1 |
| Cooks | 7 | Lawyers | 5 |
| Confectioners | 4 | Limner | 1 |
| Consuls | 4 | Mariners | 350 |
| Dentist | 1 | Mathematician | 1 |
| Draftsman | 1 | Merchants | 938 |
| Drapers | 6 | Military men | 32 |
| Druggists | 2 | Nurse | 1 |

| | | | |
|---------------|----|----------------|----|
| Paper hanger | 1 | Steward | 1 |
| Physicians | 33 | Supercargoes | 26 |
| Publican | 1 | Surgeons | 8 |
| Schoolmasters | 21 | Surveyors | 3 |
| Servants | 87 | Traders | 31 |
| Shop keepers | 11 | Washerwomen | 3 |
| Stationers | 4 | Woollen draper | 1 |

Total of this class 1,730

Ornamental and amusing unproductive Class.

| | | | |
|----------------|----|-------------|----|
| Dancing master | 1 | Jewellers | 5 |
| Falconer | 1 | Ladies | 49 |
| Gentlemen | 87 | Rope dancer | 1 |
| Guilder | 1 | Showman | 1 |
| Hair dressers | 2 | | |

Total of this class 148

Recapitulation.

| | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| Useful productive class | 1,987 |
| Useful unproductive do. | 1,730 |
| Ornamental and amusing do. | 148 |

3,865

| | |
|---|-------|
| Occupation unknown, principally } women and children } | 3,136 |
|---|-------|

Total arrived 7,001

Of these there are 1,959 females—5,042 males.

Now is it to be observed that this list embraces not only the foreigners coming here with the intention of remaining, but those who came here only on a visit, and our own citizens, who returned from visits to foreign countries. For these reasons we should deduct nearly all of the following classes, viz : ambassadors, clergymen, consuls, judge, lawyers, merchants, mariners, physicians, supercargoes, gentlemen, and ladies, and probably the planters ; amounting in the whole to 1,579 ; which leaves but 5,422. But as our deductions are merely conjectural, we will estimate the number of emigrants for that year at 6,000. A second report under the above act, for the year ending 30th September 1821, was presented to congress at their last session ; but owing to some strange oversight, no order was passed for its being printed. The particulars, there-

fore, we are not acquainted with ; but we have ascertained that the whole number of passengers was 10,722, of which 2,415 were 'from the United States,' leaving 8,307 foreigners. Besides this, we have a newspaper before us, which professes to give an abstract of 'official returns ordered to be printed by the house of commons' of Great Britain. From these it appears, that from the year 1812 to the year 1821, both years included, there emigrated to the United States—from Ireland, 30,653—from England, 33,608—from Scotland, 4,727. The whole amount of emigrations to the United States, 68,988. During the same period, there embarked for the British dominions in North America, from Ireland, 47,223—from England, 23,783—from Scotland, 19,971. Total of emigrations to the British dominions 90,977. Total of emigrations from the United Kingdom, 159,965. This gives us an annual average of 6,898 emigrants to the United States ; and this we take to be not far from the true average. For if the above period embraces the years of the war, when there were no emigrations to this country, it likewise embraces the extraordinary years 1817 and 1818, when the emigrations were double or treble what they ever were before, or have been since. We should add about one ninth to the above amount, for emigrants from other countries than Great Britain ; for we take it, that about nine tenths of all the foreigners who come to this country, come from the United Kingdom, and we shall have an average of little more than 7,500 emigrants per annum. And whilst we thus find the documents of the British government, and of our own, coinciding so nearly, it is impossible to think that both are very far from the truth. With regard to the years 1817 and 1818, the only satisfactory information we possess, is from Dr Seybert's valuable work.* We are there furnished with the number of passengers arriving at the principal ports of the United States, during the year 1817, as obtained from the records of the several custom houses. The number was 22,240. If we make a proper deduction for the number of Americans who must have been among these passengers, we shall conclude that the number of emigrants for that year was about 18,000. Dr Seybert supposes the number in common years to be 6,000 ; and allowing them the extraordinary rate of increase of 5 per cent. per annum, he calculates, that deprived of this foreign aid, our population would require, in order to effect

* Statistical Annals, p. 29.

a duplication, four fifths of a year longer than it now does. The amount of emigration in common years, we are of opinion, varies from six to eight thousand. To make out Mr Godwin's proposition, it ought to be about two hundred and forty thousand.

If any thing be wanting to confirm the above statement, we may find it in the last census. The number of 'foreigners not naturalized,' is there given under a distinct head, and amounts only to 53,655. No foreigner can be naturalized until he has resided within the United States at least five years; and consequently we have the whole number which could have arrived during the five years preceding the census, even if we suppose that all who arrived before that period were naturalized as soon as the law would permit. But we know that a great many delay obtaining naturalization for several years after they are entitled to it; and not a few are never naturalized at all. From all the above sources of information, and the agreement of them all, we have as much certainty respecting the amount of emigration as the nature of the subject will admit of.

We have said that Mr. G's proposition, 'that the present population of the American continent must have arisen from a direct transportation of the inhabitants of the Old World to the New,' is stated 'with one exception.' The limitation alluded to is this :

'The majority of the emigrants that pass over from Europe to North America may be supposed to be in the flower of their life. Now every such emigrant is equal to two human beings, taken indiscriminately among the population, or rather among the rising generation of an old established country. For example, we have found that, in four children born into the world, we have no right to count upon more than one female, who by child bearing, can contribute to keep up or increase the numbers of mankind in the next generation. But of emigrants withdrawing themselves to America, as we have been informed they usually withdraw themselves in families, we have a right, if they go in the flower of their lives, out of every four, to count upon two females who, by child bearing, may contribute to the future population of the country.' pp. 404, 405.

Mr Godwin had supposed, independently of this limitation, the annual number of emigrants necessary to account for the increase between 1790 and 1810, to be one hundred and

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sixty-five thousand ; and with it, he thinks he may reduce the number to eighty or ninety thousand. As respects the object of Mr. Godwin's argument, this exception is not worth considering. For allowing him all that he claims from it ; instead of reckoning the annual emigration at seven or eight thousand, we should only have to consider it as raised to thirteen or fourteen thousand, which would still leave the period of doubling, by procreation alone, within the twenty-five years. The allowance claimed by Mr Godwin on this account, is, however, most enormous, upon any theory of the increase of mankind, and most of all upon that broached by Mr Godwin. If 1,600,000 persons of both sexes had come here in the year 1790, Mr Godwin might perhaps, without a very great departure from his own principles, admit that this number would, by the year 1810, have increased to 3,200,000. But this number come, not all at the same time and at the commencement of the twenty years, but successively, through every part of the period, a moiety of them within the last half of it, and some not until the very last year. Under these circumstances, to suppose that they will be found to have doubled at the end of the period, is admitting a greater tendency in the human race to increase its numbers, than Mr Malthus has ever contended for. We do not say that such a thing is impossible ; but we do say that the assertion of it on the part of Mr Godwin, is an abandonment of every principle in his book. If, however, we take any number of emigrants arriving here at the same time, and look at them as they are, it probably will not be supposed that each one of them 'is equal to two human beings taken indiscriminately among the population' of this country. By the transcript we have given above, it appears that, of the passengers therein enumerated, 5,042 are males, 1,959 females. Many of the emigrants come in families, but the majority of them are unmarried men. The situation of a great portion of both classes, at least for some time after their arrival, is but little favorable to their rapid increase. Those, who are single, have generally to wait long, before they can so establish themselves in a strange land, as to be in a condition to support a family ; and of those who come in families, it is unfortunately too often the case, that their situation, to say the least of it, is no better calculated for the rearing of their children, than it was in their own country. One of the proofs adduced by Mr Godwin of the great num-

ber of emigrants to the United States, is founded on the number of societies which exist in our cities for the relief of foreigners. He has collated from Morse's geography the names of divers St George's and St Patrick's, and St Andrew's and Thistle and Shamrock Societies; and infers that the amount of emigration must be immense, where so many charitable institutions can find employment. He might have inferred another fact, and with more truth; which is, that the amount of poverty and distress must be very great among those emigrants. Skilful mechanics, practical farmers, and industrious, prudent, calculating laborers, who have come here from abroad, and brought with them the means of support, until they can overcome the great difficulties necessarily attendant on a recent establishment in a strange community, have generally been able to attain to a greater degree of respectability, and to bring up their children with better prospects, than they could have done at home. But then it is a fact not less notorious than it is melancholy, that very much of all the squalid poverty and wretchedness, which is to be found in our cities, is amongst the foreigners. If the fact were not in itself perfectly notorious, the records of our alms-houses and jails could prove it. It seems to be thought in England, that most of our emigrants are farmers, attracted hither by the cheapness of land. The fact we believe to be, that a very great proportion of the foreigners in the United States are to be found in the cities, where the checks to population are almost as great as they are in Europe. Many, no doubt, who come with other intentions, remain in the seaports where they were first landed, because, having exhausted their little all, in procuring their passage, they are unable to proceed onward to 'the new country;' but yet if we look again at our transcript of passengers, we see that of the whole 7,000, according to the occupations specified, only 997 belong to agriculture; the rest are nearly all of them of such professions as must necessarily be exercised in large towns.

Mr Godwin has a great deal to say about the *impossibility* of the increase of the United States having arisen from procreation. He observes,

'I further trust, that if I shall not be able to make out to demonstration the precise sources of the increasing population of the United States, I shall at least show in what follows, from a

variety of considerations, exclusively of the thread of the argument of my second and third books, that it is impossible that the source should be found in the principle of procreation.' p. 371.

It does seem to us that under the circumstances of the case Mr Godwin is bound to point out very clearly 'the precise sources of the increasing population of the United States.' That the increase has taken place is admitted; that it is not owing to emigration is no less certain than that the increase has taken place; then if it be not owing to procreation, it behoves Mr G. at least to name some third source from which it might have arisen. Any reasoning *a priori*, on a subject of this nature, is extremely unsafe, as is evinced by the numerous errors which prevailed in England on the subject of their own population, previous to the 'population acts.' Such reasoning is almost always founded on arbitrary principles of the prolificness of marriages, or on imperfect parish registers of births and deaths. Whilst therefore the fact of increase is ascertained, and it is known not to have arisen from emigration, any argument which goes to prove that in the nature of things it is impossible that such a rate of increase should arise from natural causes, ought to be considered as answered and refuted by the fact, even if it were less easy, than it is in the present case, to detect the fallacy of the argument itself.

'Throughout Europe,' says Mr G., 'taking one country with another, the average falls short of four births to a marriage,' p. 206; 'and in every instance which has come to our hands, the fruitfulness of the human species in the United States does in no way materially differ from what occurs on the subject in many countries of Europe.' p. 425. To which he afterwards adds, that 'a smaller number are not prematurely cut off by disease.' p. 431. With regard to the fruitfulness of marriages in the United States, he further says, and often repeats the observation, 'the difference of the United States and the Old World, does not, I presume, consist in the superior fecundity of their women.' p. 30. Be it so—the natural capability of women on either side of the Atlantic may be the same; but if in America a smaller proportion of the women remain unmarried, and if marriages take place at an earlier age than in Europe, they may still produce a greater number of children. Now it is a fact, which we think will hardly be denied even by Mr Godwin, that the wages of labor are higher, and food more abundant here than in Europe. And whilst this is the case, we

may very safely infer that a greater proportion of the whole population will marry ; and of those who marry, the marriages will take place at an earlier period of life, than in countries where a different state of things prevails. There are no documents in this country, from which we can estimate the average fruitfulness of marriages. There is, or rather there was, a statute in Massachusetts, requiring the marriages, births, and deaths to be recorded by the town clerk of the place where they occur. But the statute, though unrepealed, has become so nearly obsolete, that not many, even among the profession, are aware that it ever existed. The record of marriages and baptisms might be obtained from clergymen ; but the number of baptisms would furnish us with a very uncertain criterion for estimating the number of births. If, however, we could procure certain records of the marriages and births in particular towns or parishes, it would be of no importance in ascertaining the fruitfulness of marriages ; so great is the interchange of inhabitants constantly taking place between our towns. The older settlements are every day sending forth new married couples to find farms in other places ; of course the marriage, and the births resulting from it, do not appear on the same record. And for the same reason, it would be of no assistance to us, if we could obtain the number of the births and marriages in the whole state of Massachusetts, or of any single state in the union. For the intercourse between the states, is as unrestrained as that between different towns. There is every reason to believe, as we have before remarked, that in New England there is born, on an average, a greater number of children for each marriage ; and that of the born, a greater number are reared, than in any other part of the United States ; unless it be in some of the new states north west of the Ohio. Yet an inspection of the records of marriages and births would very probably lead us to a different conclusion ; because thousands of the children of marriages solemnized in New England, must be sought for on the banks of the Ohio or the Wabash. We have no doubt that, in consequence of the migratory spirit, we could find many towns of Massachusetts, where the proportion of births to marriages in the records, would be no more than three to one ; whilst the census should indicate, and truly too, that the population was increasing. And on the other hand, we might take the records of a town in Indiana or Ohio, which has been settled within the last ten years, (and there are hun-

dreds of such towns,) and by counting up all the marriages, and then all the births, which have taken place within the town, we should obtain a dozen or fifteen births for one marriage. No reliance therefore is to be placed on the records of particular towns, as a mean of judging of the fruitfulness of marriages throughout the country, or even in the place where they are kept. In the absence of documents, conjectures are not of much avail on such a subject; yet all writers have agreed in the supposition, that the number of births is very much greater here than in Europe. Mr Godwin indeed is to be excepted; but there is no subject with which he is less acquainted than America; unless, indeed, it be the subject of population in general. Dr Franklin supposes eight births to a marriage, which we have no doubt is too high. Dr Seybert thinks there are six, and that four out of the six are reared, and this we conceive to be very near the truth. But that either there must be a greater number of births in America than in Europe, or that of the born, a greater number must live beyond the first and most dangerous stages of life, is proved by the fact, that the children in this country, as shown by all our censuses, compose a much larger portion of our population, than they do of the population of other countries.

The remarks we have just made respecting registers, apply to all the evidence which Mr Godwin adduces in support of his proposition, that marriages are not more prolific in America than in Europe. He introduces with infinite satisfaction, a communication to the philosophical society of Philadelphia, by Mr Barton, in which communication, is contained, an account of the births, marriages, and deaths, in the first parish of Hingham, in this state. By this, it appears that 'during fifty-four years, there were 2,247 births, 1,113 deaths, and 521 marriages.'

Supposing this account to be accurate, (and it may be so or it may not,) it is not safe to estimate from it the prolificness of marriages. For although we are not particularly acquainted with Hingham, yet we know enough of the country towns in New England generally, to be able to say with great confidence, that of the children of five hundred marriages solemnized in so old a town as that, a very considerable proportion were born in other places. Mr Godwin likewise gives us a report of marriages and births, in Portsmouth N. H. for a period of six years, drawn up by Dr Spalding, to which the same remarks

apply. And we may add, that Portsmouth is too large a town to furnish a fair average of the whole country ; to say nothing of the difficulty of any individual's keeping a very accurate account of the births in so considerable a population. Mr Godwin finds that in these two accounts there are about four and a half births to a marriage. His mode of ascertaining this is by merely dividing, in each instance, the whole number of births by the whole number of marriages. But this is not a correct mode of ascertaining the prolificness of marriages, for it is evident that many of these births, must have resulted from marriages which took place prior to the period embraced by the registers ; and on the other hand subsequently to the period in the registers, many of the marriages contained therein will have yielded other births, which of course are not counted. And on this account, where the population is either increasing or diminishing, the proportion of births to marriages in the registers will never truly represent the prolificness of marriages. We had supposed that Mr Malthus had made this subject clear enough, in his chapter on the fruitfulness of marriages ; and to that we refer our readers for the correct rule on the subject. By this rule, and with the premises furnished him by Mr Barton, Mr Malthus finds 5.58 to be the prolificness of marriages in this country. Of the uncertainty of these premises we have already intimated our opinion. We are very much at a loss to determine whether Mr Godwin ever read the chapter just referred to, or not. He occasionally extracts from it a detached passage ; but at the same time he goes on reasoning from principles, which are there demonstrated to be erroneous, as if he were utterly unconscious that the correctness of those principles had ever been questioned. It is possible that he may have resolved that he will be instructed by nothing which comes from Mr Malthus ; but it is hardly possible that he can be so childish as to believe that his readers have formed a similar resolution.

To those who are acquainted with Mr Malthus' book, it is superfluous to observe, that there is nothing in the Hingham account at all inconsistent with the supposition of a rapid increase of population. 'The proportion of births to marriages, indeed, forms no criterion whatever by which to judge of the rate of increase. The population of a country may be stationary or declining, with a proportion as 5 to 1, and may be increasing with some rapidity with a proportion as 4 to 1.*' The

* Malthus' *Essay on Pop.* vol. ii. p. 23.

prolificness of marriages is a thing different from the proportion of births to marriages, as presented in the registers. It is only the latter to which Mr Godwin pays any attention. But it is not even on the prolificness of marriages alone, that the rate of increase depends. Population increases when the births exceed the deaths. And the excess of births over the deaths is affected not merely by the prolificness of marriages, but likewise by the proportion of the born which lives to marry; and by the earliness of these marriages compared with the average duration of life. That with the same prolificness of marriages, the rate of increase will be the more rapid, in proportion as a greater proportion of the born shall live to marry, must be evident to every one; and a slight reflection will render it apparent, that where any increase is going on, it will be more rapid, as the interval between the average age of marriage and the average age of death shall be longer. 'It is evident that if there be any principle of increase, that is, if one marriage in the present generation yields more than one in the next, including second and third marriages, the quicker these generations are repeated, compared with the passing away of a generation by death, the more rapid will be the increase.*' Mr Malthus has explained and demonstrated these principles in his chapter on the fruitfulness of marriages; and yet Mr Godwin, with a perverseness which was never equalled, asserts, and builds all his arguments on the assertion, that there must be eight births to a marriage, or the population cannot double itself. And in his attempt, or rather his pretence of ascertaining whether this has been the case, instead of calculating the prolificness of marriages, he looks merely at the proportion of births to marriages in the registers, and if he finds this proportion to be but as 4 to 1, he assures us that the population must be at a stand.

If the Hingham register could be considered as presenting the true proportion of births to marriages for the whole country, the only consequence would be, that every thing which Mr Godwin has written respecting the unhealthiness of the United States must be considered incorrect, even if from other sources we did not know it to be so. For in that case we should have to account for the known rate of our increase, by the supposition that the proportion of the born which lives to marry is extraordinarily large; and the larger this proportion is, the more healthy must be the country. But as Mr Malthus ob-

* Essay on Pop. vol. ii. p. 21.

serves, 'to occasion so rapid an increase as that which has taken place in America, it will be necessary that all the causes of increase should be called into action.' And the proportion in the Hingham register is undoubtedly too small; although we are not to expect to find the true proportion (as Mr Godwin thinks it must be) any thing like 8 to 1. We attach but little importance to the registers of single parishes, but the following account of the marriages, births, and deaths in Billerica, in this state, is perhaps less liable to suspicion than such accounts generally are, because it is of a period when the law for recording the births and deaths must have been more regarded, and when likewise the increase was less likely to be affected by emigration, than is the case at present. From the year 1654 to the year 1704, in Billerica,* there were marriages 106, births 557, deaths 172. Giving a proportion of births to marriages of $5\frac{1}{4}$ to 1; and of births to deaths of more than 3 to 1. This proportion of the births to marriages is about as high as we ought to expect; for the more rapid is the rate of increase, the more will the proportion of births to marriages in the registers fall short of the real prolificness of marriages. We have seen accounts of two or three other villages, which give a proportion of births a little larger than the foregoing; but the accounts, though very probable from their results, are themselves of so unauthentic a character, that we do not think it worth while to introduce them.

Although Mr Godwin seems to think it is only by an augmented proportion of births that the population of a country can be increased, yet he takes upon himself to prove that 'a smaller portion are not prematurely cut off by disease or otherwise in the United States than in Europe.' And to this end he devotes a chapter to the subject of 'the diseases' of this country. We have not left ourselves time to follow him step by step through this chapter, which is almost as weak as those upon emigration. It contains such stuff as this:

'The lady from Pennsylvania, whom I mentioned above, stated to me, that the citizens of that state, male and female, were generally found to decline from their youth and strength at twenty-five or thirty years of age. She further expressed herself as having no doubt that the continuity of population from their own proper sources was less full there than in England: for which she assigned four reasons; first, that the mothers suckle their children

* Collections of Mass. Historical Soc. vol. ii.—2d series, p. 166.
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longer ; secondly, that in Pennsylvania there are few old people ; thirdly, that more children die ; and lastly, as above observed, that a large family of children is a rare phenomenon there.' p. 433.

The same lady told Mr G. that the dysentery is such a fatal disorder in Pennsylvania, ' that a great proportion of the children in that state are carried off by it under three years of age, and that upon her return to Great Britain it was matter of surprise to her to see, as no uncommon thing, families with seven or eight children.' p. 432. And this account of the dysentery was confirmed by ' another lady, a native of Boston.' Besides all which, we have in the United States consumptions, yellow fever, and bad teeth. And Mr Godwin, gathering confidence as he advances, comes finally to this conclusion :

' In reality, it seems perfectly obvious that, at least in the middle and southern states, the population could not *have maintained its stand from one generation to another*, without a perpetual succession of supplies from abroad.' p. 435.

Little has been done in this country towards ascertaining the average rate of mortality for the whole country. Pretty correct bills have been kept in various parts of the country, which would probably enable us to form a satisfactory estimate ; but no one, that we know of, has yet undertaken to collect and compare them. Mr Barton, in the communication before referred to, has, from a very hasty view of his subject, undertaken to fix the rate at 1 out of 45. Most of Mr B's information was drawn from the cities, which can in no country serve for an average. If, however, he had looked at the rate of mortality in our cities, and then had considered the difference between the rate in cities and in rural situations, in countries where the subject has been more attended to, he would probably have suspected the correctness of his estimate. In the city of Philadelphia, if we compare the average annual mortality of seven years, (from 1807 to 1814 inclusive,) with the population of 1810, it seems that there was yearly 1 death for every 40.15 persons. In 1810, only 1 out of 43.40 died. In Boston the average for the five last years has been 1 out of 39.58.* According to Dr Price, at the time he made his calculations, the mortality in London, was 1 in $20\frac{3}{4}$; in Norwich, 1 in $24\frac{1}{2}$; in Northampton, 1 in $26\frac{1}{2}$; in Newbury, 1 in $27\frac{1}{2}$. Mr

* The deaths of the last year were uncommonly numerous in Boston. The total was 1420, exceeding by more than three hundred the deaths of any former year.

Malthus thinks the towns of England were more unhealthy at the time Dr Price made his calculations than they are at present ; but still he is of opinion, that 1 in 31, the proportion of mortality for London, mentioned in *The observations on the result of the Population Act*, is smaller than the truth.* ‘It may be stated in general,’ says Dr Price,† ‘that whereas in great towns the proportion of inhabitants dying annually is from 1 in 19 to 1 in 22 or 23 ; and in moderate towns, from 1 in 24 to 1 in 28 ; in country parishes and villages on the contrary, this proportion seldom exceeds 1 in 40 or 50.’ He afterwards,‡ however, gives an account of several parishes taken from actual enumerations, according to which, in some villages, only a 45th, a 50th, a 60th, a 66th, and in one, a 75th part, dies annually. Mr Malthus, combining these and several other calculations, thinks that if we take 1 in 46 or 1 in 48, as the average mortality of the agricultural part of England, including sickly seasons, this will be the lowest that can be supposed with any degree of accuracy. And this proportion, he supposes, will be raised to 1 in 40, when we blend with it the mortality of towns and the manufacturing part of the community, in order to obtain an average for the whole kingdom.§ Thus in England, where the rate of mortality in the towns is so high, and where so large a proportion of the whole population live in towns, the rate for the whole kingdom is but 1 in 40. And when we find a rate of but 1 in 40 in our cities, even after making all allowances for omissions in the bills of the cities, we cannot believe the rate for the whole country to be so high as 1 in 45. In Russia, if their bills be correct, the rate of mortality is 1 in 58 ; and this we believe is thought the lowest of any country in Europe. In some large divisions of the United States, we are confident the rate is lower than in Russia ; and although from the great variety of climate in different parts of our territory, it is extremely unsafe to reason from observations made in a single section, yet we think that the average for the whole country is about as low as the Russian. Our duty does not require of us to collect original facts on this subject ;—for the purpose of refuting Mr Godwin, new facts are wholly unnecessary. But having before us bills of several country towns in various parts of New England, we present our readers with the following abstract of the same :

* Essay on Pop. vol. i. p. 465, 466.

† Observ. on Revers. Paym. First Add. Essay, p. 4.

‡ Ibid. p. 10

§ Essay on Pop. vol. i. p. 464.

| | On an average of* | There died annually one out of | Population | By census of |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| Dorchester, | seven years | 57 | 2,347 | 1800 |
| 1st parish in Middleborough. } | six | 71† | 1,400 | by estimate. |
| 1st do. in Sandwich | ten | 81½† | 1,500 | " |
| East do. Rutland, Vt. | thirteen | 68 | 1,394 | 1810 |
| Freeport, Me. | five | 78 | 2,284 | " |
| Lancaster, N. H. | seven | 68 | 717 | " |
| Plymouth, N. H. | seven | 78 | 937 | " |
| Kingston | seven | 74 | 1,137 | " |
| Waltham | six | 78 | 1,014 | " |
| Charlestown | seven | 59 | 4,936 | " |
| Brookline | seven | 71 ³ / ₁₁ | 784 | " |
| Amherst, N. H. | nine | 70 ⁷ / ₁₁ | 1,554 | " |
| Amherst, Mass. | four | 79 ⁷ / ₉ | 1,489 | " |

The account of Rutland, in the state of Vermont, and of Amherst, in this state, are taken from the *New England Medical Journal*; the rest of the accounts are taken from the printed collections of the *Massachusetts Historical Society*. They are not inserted in those collections as extraordinary cases; for the papers, from which they are taken, are for the most part written with other objects than merely to represent the rate of mortality. It is the endeavor of this society to collect and preserve the most minute and authentic details in the history of this part of the country; and to this end they have encouraged the communication of topographical and historical accounts of individual districts and towns, especially of such as have been the theatre of any of the more important events in our national or state history. These memoirs are all from respectable sources, most of them from the clergymen of the parishes to which they relate. Many of them contain bills of mortality, apparently drawn up with great care,† from which the above statement is compiled.

* It has been our object, where the accounts would permit, to choose a year in which a census is taken, and an equal number of years before and after the census; as there are no means of ascertaining the population in years at a distance from the time of taking a census. Thus the thirteen years, for Rutland, are from 1804 to 1816, inclusive; and the population is taken from the census of 1810.

† The population of the parishes in Sandwich and Middleborough is merely *estimated* at certain numbers, by the authors of the accounts from which we copy. The exact population of these parishes we have no means of ascertaining; the census, as printed, only giving us the population of the towns to which they belong.

‡ In confirmation of the opinion that the Americans 'decline from their

After his very satisfactory chapter on the diseases of the United States, Mr Godwin comes to what he says is 'the principal point in my whole subject.' It is this—wherever there is an increase of mankind from procreation, the number of the born must be proportional to that increase. To keep up the born, we must reckon upon four births to a marriage; to double it, we must reckon upon eight. Where there are four births to a marriage, the number of births must double the number of procreants; where there are eight, it must quadruple it. p. 440. Now 'the *authors* of the American census for 1800 and 1810, have fortunately classed the free white inhabitants according to their ages, and thus enabled us to ascertain the number of adults and the number of children.' According to these censuses the number of those under the age of sixteen, exceed but by a small number those above that age. And Mr Godwin affirms, that if the population of the United States doubled every twenty-five years, 'it is absolutely certain that in that country the children would outnumber the grown persons two or three times over.' p. 442. All this absolute certainty is founded on the assumption that the rate of increase is dependent only on the number of births; an assumption which we have already seen to be erroneous. It is impossible to define the proportion of children which is to be found in a country, from merely knowing the rate at which its population increases. Thus much we have a right to anticipate, and no more. When a country has doubled its population in the last twenty-five years, we have a right to expect to find in that country a number of inhabitants under the age of twenty-five years (for the age of sixteen has nothing to do with the case) sufficient, in the first place, to supply the places of all those who, during the period, have died out of the original stock, and then to furnish a surplus equal to the whole amount of the stock at the commencement of the period. And this

youth and strength at 25 or 30 years of age,' we cannot forbear transcribing a passage of a letter from Rev. Mr Hale of West Hampton, in this state.

'When I was ordained (in 1779) there were, including myself, 34 or 35 ministers in Hampshire county. Of these, *nine* are now living, and I am the youngest of the nine. Two are above 85, but do not preach; two others are above 75, and have colleagues. Four perform the ordinary ministerial duties, two of them are above 70. One was dismissed, and is about my age. In forty years, only one minister has died, within the present limits of Hampshire county, under the age of 70. Of those who have died within the limits of the old county, (as it was in 1779,) one was nearly 100, three about 90, one 87, eight about 80, and eight about 70.'

we do find in our censuses. Mr Godwin says that more than one half of the whole population are under the age of sixteen ; and if he will count the numbers between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, he will find them equal to any fair calculations which can be made of the number, which has died from the population existing twenty-five years ago. Our census is taken at the end of every ten years. We ought, therefore, to find in each census, the number of inhabitants under the age of ten years exceeding the amount of the whole increase which has taken place during the preceding ten years. It should *exceed* the amount of the increase, because the places of those of the original stock who have died during the period must be supplied by those who have been born within it, before we can begin to count an increase. And accordingly, we find that in every census which has ever been taken in this country, the inhabitants under the age of ten years do exceed, by a considerable number, the amount of increase which had taken place since the preceding census. If any thing more were wanting in reference to this 'principal point of all,' Mr G. himself has kindly furnished it. In Sweden, the tables of which Mr G. has furnished us, it seems that the number of persons above the age of fifteen are double those under that age. And yet the population of Sweden, according to Mr G's own statement, is increasing. In the United States, those above the age of sixteen are not quite equal to those under the same age.

We have thus, though not without some trial of our patience, followed Mr Godwin through his statements and arguments which have any relation to this country. In doing this, we have been obliged incidentally to notice some of the principal errors in his general view of the subject of population. Something we had intended to add on his misrepresentations of Mr Malthus' views and arguments ; and in consideration of what we should say on this subject, we have hitherto treated the book with more forbearance than it merited. But we have no room left for so endless a topic ; and the able reviews of this work from Edinburgh and London, which are already in possession of our readers, render such remarks superfluous. Notwithstanding the disgust we feel at the flimsy, shallow, and uncandid manner in which Mr Godwin has acquitted himself, we are glad that he has written on the subject. After the lapse of more than twenty years, and when the charms of novelty must have ceased, the world has been called upon to recon-

sider and revise the judgment it originally pronounced on the truth of Mr Malthus' work. The consequence has been an entire and deliberate affirmance of that judgment; and henceforth, we presume, the subject of population will be considered as at rest.

ART. XIV.—*Memoires de l'abbé Morellet, de l'academie Française, sur le 18e siecle et sur la revolution, &c.* Paris, 2 vols. 1821.

LADY MORGAN, in her France, thus commemorates the subject of our present article: 'Morellet, the dear friend of Diderot who had nearly lost his reason in the *donjon* of Vincennes, of Rousseau banished for the novelty of his paradoxes, of Marmontel who had been thrown into the bastille for reciting a humorous satire, was naturally a friend to the revolution.' In this instance, the fair historian appears to have been more solicitous to establish the most natural theory on the probable conduct of Morellet, than to draw any inferences from the actual facts. He appears to have been throughout, firmly, though peacefully, *opposed* to the prevailing doctrines of the new philosophy and politics, as far as they affected the state. Indeed the sympathy, with the misfortunes of his friends, which is ascribed to him in the extract just made, would hardly operate sufficiently on his mind to counteract the adverse influence of his own personal losses, by the confiscation of the church property. We have been in fact annoyed by the frequency with which the Abbé, in the memoirs before us, reverts to events which, it cannot be denied, appear to have affected him quite as much from the consequences to himself, as from the dangers to more general interests, which were anticipated or realized in their progress. Thus he speaks in the following way of the suppression of the 'Société de Sorbonne,' a theological assembly, which he describes as improperly confounded with the theological faculty of the same name, and into which he was admitted.

'By the suppression of this establishment, without any indemnity to its members, is not an act of remarkable violence towards private property committed? To procure admission into this society, every one of its members had prolonged his studies, un-